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INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF THE RED CROSS

MARCH 1972 - No. 132

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MILITARY INSTRUCTIONS ON THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS IN GUERRILLA WARFARE

by Michel Veuthey

At the International Colloquium held by the International Institute of Humanitarian Law, at Sanremo last September ¹, a paper was submitted on military instructions concerning the treatment of prisoners in situations arising from guerrilla warfare. In view of the importance of the subject and of the interesting references made to history, we are publishing the introduction and conclusion of this study, which will later appear in the official records of the International Institute of Humanitarian Law, as well as some of the historical examples given by the author. (Ed.)

I. Introductory remarks

The considerations which follow do not claim to be exhaustive, and we hope the reader will forgive us if some of the points raised in this brief outline have been superseded by more recent developments. It is not the purpose of this paper to encompass a wide subject such as this, but, by means of a few recent or earlier examples, to try to pinpoint a certain trend in military instructions on the treatment of prisoners in situations arising from guerrilla warfare. In addition to regular army manuals or instructions, we felt it might be worth while to quote from similar texts issued by guerrilla forces. We should

¹ See International Review, November 1971.

like to add that the views expressed here are purely personal and in no way imply that a definitive position has been adopted on the actual application of the texts mentioned.

Owing to the fact that they are more flexible than the international conventions, that they are often unofficial ², and that a party issuing them is not committed beyond the international obligations it may have contracted, military instructions—which are so close to the realities of war—are often a field for legal experimentation that serves as a basis for future codification. The example of Lieber's "Instructions" ("Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field", General Orders, No. 100, April 24, 1863) and their effect on the codification of the law of war at the end of the nineteenth century is so well known that there is no need to dwell on it.

II. Examples from history

1. Spanish War (1807-1814)

While guerilla warfare is an extremely ancient form of struggle, since it was formulated long ago by the Chinese strategist Sun-Tsu. it took its modern name from the Spanish people's resistance to French occupation forces. 8 It therefore seems appropriate to start this brief survey with a reference to that war which, at the beginning of the era of conscript armies, showed the trend towards popular resistance. Needless to say, this war was fought relentlessly on both sides, and the tendency at first was simply to execute all prisoners, often under atrocious conditions. The relations between the regular troops and the guerrillas affected relations between the regular troops. After the battle of Baylen, 20,000 French soldiers due to be repatriated under the treaty of capitulation were held prisoner on prison-ships. In reply to the French general who protested against that decision, the Spaniards said: "Your Excellency, you say that you are merely obeying orders, but he who serves a bandit chieftain is no less responsible for the crimes he commits under those orders".

² cf. British Manual, Part I, 1956, p. 1, and U.S. Field Manual, 1956, p. 3.

³ Obviously there is no lack of synonyms for the term guerrilla: people's war, war of resistance, revolutionary war, insurrectionary war, subversive war, etc.

The Spanish officers had immense difficulty in protecting the prisoners from the population who were thirsting for revenge, and General Castaños had to lay down that "anyone insulting a Frenchman shall be tried by court martial". At first the French treated all groups as irregular combatants. Many of them were shot, until reprisals by guerrilla fighters resulted in their semi-recognition as belligerents.

2. Tyrol

In the Tyrol uprising of 1809, Andreas Hofer, "leader of the rebellion", was arrested and shot. The Duke of Danzig issued the following proclamation on 15 May 1809:

"Der grossmütige König von Bayern hatte durch sein gutes Herz den kaiserlichfranzösischen und königlichbayerischen Generälen befohlen, sie sollten die Untertanen von Tirol verschonen, nur durch Gutmütigkeit an ihre Pflicht erinnern. Weil aber alle ihre Mühe verloren ist, so hat der grosse Kaiser von Frankreich, der Beschützer der Religion, heute, den 15. Mai ordiniert, dass alle Tiroler, die mit Waffen versehen, gefangen, erschossen und aufgehängt werden, und wo in dem Bann oder in einem Dorf, Kreis oder Landgericht ein Soldat totgefunden wird, soll das ganze Tal oder Bann oder das ganze Gericht in 24 Stunden verbrannt und die Vornehmsten davon, wenn sie auch ohne Waffen getroffen werden, an den nächsten Baum aufgehängt werden." 4

3. War of Secession (1861-1865)

On 3 July 1862, General Grant, then commanding the army in Tennessee, issued the following order:

⁴ Our translation: "Out of the goodness of his heart, the magnanimous King of Bavaria ordered the imperial French and royal Bavarian generals to spare his subjects in Tyrol and to remind them of their duty only with kindness. But as all their efforts were in vain, the great Emperor of France, Defender of the Faith, has this day, 15 May, ordered that any Tyrolese carrying arms shall be arrested, shot and hanged; that where a soldier is found dead in the Bann or in a village, Kreis or Landgericht, the entire valley or Bann or the entire Gericht shall be burned within twenty-four hours, and that the noblest of them, even if not found to be carrying arms, shall be hanged from the nearest tree."

"The system of guerilla warfare now being prosecuted by some troops organized under the authority of the so-called Southern Confederacy, and others without such authority, being so pernicious to the welfare of the Community where it is carried on, and it being within the power of the Communities to suppress this system, it is ordered that wherever loss is sustained by the Government, collections shall be made by seizure of a sufficient amount of personal property from persons in the immediate neighbourhood sympathizing with the rebellion to remunerate the government for all loss and expense of collection.

Persons acting as guerillas without organization and without uniform to distinguish them from private citizens are not entitled to treatment as prisoners of war when caught and will not receive such treatment."

In the same vein, General Sherman issued the following order to General Burbridge, in June 1864:

"You may order your post and district commanders that guerillas are not soldiers, but wild beasts, unknown to the usage of war. To be recognized as soldiers, they must be enlisted, enrolled, officered, uniformed, armed, and equipped by some recognized belligerent power and must, if detached from the main army, be of sufficient strength, with written orders from some army Commander to do some military thing."

The most striking document, however, is undoubtedly Francis Lieber's Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field (General Orders, No. 100, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, April 24, 1863). Articles 81 to 85 (Section IV: Partisans, Armed Enemies not belonging to the Hostile Army, Scouts, Armed Prowlers, War-Rebels) have a more direct bearing on the treatment of guerrilla fighters:

"81. Partisans are soldiers armed and wearing the uniform of their army, but belonging to a corps which acts detached from the main body for the purpose of making inroads into the territory occupied by the enemy. If captured, they are entitled to all the privileges of the prisoner of war.

- 82. Men, or squads of men, who commit hostilities, whether by fighting, or inroads for destruction or plunder, or by raids of any kind, without commission, without being part and portion of the organized hostile army, and without sharing continuously in the war, but do so with intermitting returns to their homes and avocations, or with the occasional assumption of the semblance of peaceful pursuits, divesting themselves of the character or appearance of soldiers—such men, or squads of men, are not public enemies, and therefore, if captured, are not entitled to the privileges of prisoners of war, but shall be treated summarily as highway robbers or pirates.
- 83. Scouts, or single soldiers, if disguised in the dress of the country or in the uniform of the army hostile to their own, employed in obtaining information, if found within or lurking about the lines of the captor, are treated as spies, and suffer death.
- 84. Armed prowlers, by whatever names they may be called, or persons of the enemy's territory, who steal within the lines of the hostile army for the purpose of robbing, killing, or of destroying bridges, roads, or canals, or of robbing or destroying the mail, or of cutting the telegraph wires, are not entitled to the privileges of the prisoner of war.
- 85. War-rebels are persons within an occupied territory who rise in arms against the occupying or conquering army, or against the authorities established by the same. If captured, they may suffer death, whether they rise singly, in small or large bands, and whether called upon to do so by their own, but expelled, government or not. They are not prisoners of war; nor are they if discovered and secured before their conspiracy has matured to an actual rising or armed violence."

4. Franco-German War (1870-1871)

At the beginning of the war, the German army issued the following proclamation:

"Tout prisonnier qui réclame le traitement de prisonnier de guerre doit prouver sa qualité de soldat français par la représentation d'un ordre émané d'une autorité légitime et adressé

à lui-même, en vertu duquel il a été appelé sous les drapeaux et incorporé dans une unité militaire organisée par le gouvernement français." ⁵

The order was further clarified by a proclamation by Prince Friedrich Karl at Pont-à-Mousson on 31 August 1870, which was posted up in a great many boroughs:

PROCLAMATION

"Le commandant en chef de la 11e armée allemande fait connaître derechef par le présent arrêté, que tout individu qui ne fait pas partie ni de l'armée régulière française, ni de la garde nationale mobile, et qui serait trouvé muni d'une arme, portât-il le nom de franc-tireur ou autre, du moment où il sera saisi en flagrant délit d'hostilité vis-à-vis de nos troupes, sera considéré comme traître et pendu ou fusillé sans autre forme de procès.

> Par ordre du commandant de la 11^e armée Le chef d'état-major." ⁶

5. Brussels Conference (1874)

The delegates of the fifteen European countries assembled in Brussels at a meeting sponsored by Russia, in 1874, adopted the "Project of an International Declaration concerning the Laws and Customs of War", Article 9 of which laid down that:

"The laws, rights and duties of war apply not only to armies, but also to militia and volunteer corps fulfilling the following conditions:

⁵ Our translation: "Any prisoner who demands to be treated as a prisoner of war must prove that he is a French soldier by submitting an order issued by a lawful authority and addressed to him, whereby he was called up to serve with the colours and incorporated in a military unit organized by the French government."

⁶ Our translation: "Proclamation. The commander-in-chief of the 11th German Army by this order again proclaims that any individual not a member of the regular French army or of the mobile national guard who is found to be in possession of a weapon, whether he goes by the name of *franc-tireur* or under any other description, if caught committing a hostile act against our troops, shall be considered a traitor and hanged or shot without any form of trial. By order of the commander-in-chief of the IIth Army, The Chief of the General Staff."

- 1. That they be commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates;
- 2. That they have a fixed distinctive emblem recognizable at a distance;
- 3. That they carry arms openly; and
- 4. That they conduct their operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war.

In countries where militia constitute the army, or form part of it, they are included under the denomination army."

According to Schmid, the delegates of Austro-Hungary, France, Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands, supported by the chairman, denied the exclusive nature of these four conditions, which were no more than a presumption.

6. Oxford Manual (1880)

In view of the governments' failure to ratify the "Declaration of Brussels", the Institute of International Law, to quote its rapporteur Gustave Moynier, offered the governments "a Manual suitable as the basis for national legislation in each State and in accord with both the progress of juridical science and the needs of civilized armies".

Article 2 of the Manual reads thus:

- "The armed force of a State includes:
- 1. The army properly so called, including the militia;
- 2. The national guards, landsturm, commandos, and other bodies which fulfil the following three conditions:
 - (a) That they are under the direction of a responsible chief;
- (b) That they must have a uniform, or a fixed distinctive emblem recognizable at a distance, and worn by individuals composing such corps;
 - (c) That they carry arms openly;

⁷ Jürg H. Schmidt, *Die völkerrechtliche Stellung der Partisanen im Kriege*, Zürich, 1956, p. 36.

⁶ The Laws of War on Land. Manual published by the Institute of International Law, Oxford Session, 1880.

- 3. The crews of men-of-war and other military boats;
- 4. The inhabitants of non-occupied territory, who, on the approach of the enemy, take up arms spontaneously and openly to resist the invading troops, even if they have not had time to organize themselves."

7. Philippines (1899) 9

During the Philippine insurrection which followed upon the ceding of the islands by Spain, the Government of the Philippines gave open support to guerrilla warfare. The United States made a distinction between guerrilleros fighting for the government, who were granted prisoner-of-war status, and guerrilleros engaged in the struggle although not authorized to do so by the government, who were treated as outlaws. An official report by General MacArthur stated:

"Of course everything is being done consistent with American civilization and the laws of war to terminate the crisis in its present form...

The bands of insurgent guerillas are not soldiers in the true sense of the word, but it is a mistake to classify them as ladrones or armed robbers. There is considerable evidence of record to the effect that the insurgent leaders have themselves suffered at the hands of the latter, who are outlaws pure and simple."

8. Boer War (1899-1901)

On 7 August 1901, the British forces issued the following proclamation:

"Marauding is an offence punishable by death. Marauding consists of acts of hostility committed by persons not belonging to an organized body authorised by a recognised government."

⁶ Schmid, op. cit. pp. 39 and 40. R. D. Powers, "Guerillas and the Laws of War", *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, 1963, p. 85.

9. (U.S.) Rules of Land Warfare (1914)

In 1914, Lieber's "Instructions" were replaced by a Manual entitled "Rules of Land Warfare", Article 40 of which laid down that the status of prisoners must be decided by legal process, and that summary executions were unlawful.¹⁰

10. Russian Civil War (1917-1920)

At Smarodino, on 18 July 1919, the President of the Military Revolutionary Council of the Republic and of the People's Commissariat for War and the Navy, issued Order of the Day No. 126 to the armies on the southern front. It read thus:

"I order:

That in no case shall prisoners be shot; that they shall be sent to the rear, in accordance with the orders of the nearest command. That commanding officers and commissars shall ensure that this order is strictly carried out.

That any infringement of the present order shall be reported without delay, so that the military revolutionary court may immediately proceed to the scene of the offence."

On 1 May 1919, the same organ issued Order of the Day No. 92 to the troops on the eastern front, as follows:

" . . .

In no case shall prisoners who have surrendered or who have been captured be shot.

. . .

The military revolutionary councils of the armies in the east shall give the widest possible publicity to this order, shall disseminate it throughout the army units on the eastern front, and shall hand it to commanding officers and commissars so that no one may claim to have been unaware of it. At the same time, steps must be taken to ensure that the order is made known to

¹⁰ See J. W. Ford, "Resistance Movements and International Law", *International Review of the Red Cross*, Geneva, October, November and December 1967, and January 1968.

all soldiers and commanding officers in Kolchak's counterrevolutionary army. Let them decide their own fate!"

A similar order of the day (No. 64) had already been issued to all the armies on the southern front, on 21 November 1918.¹¹

III. Conclusions

More than a century and a half now separate the Spanish people's guerrilla warfare against French occupation from urban guerrilla operations, and guerrilla fighting has never ceased to rouse controversy and passion. While guerrillas proclaim the justice of their cause in leaving the beaten track of war and sometimes even of law, their opponents invoke those very laws and customs of war in outlawing guerrilla fighters. And, within a few months, the roles are sometimes reversed: when war spread to the other side of the Pyrenees, the French fighting Spanish guerrillas conducted a "little war" against the Spanish guerrilla formations invading France. Further recent examples might be mentioned.

As people have short memories, such reversals of history have unfortunately not led to as broad and general an understanding of the guerrilla phenomenon as might have been desired. Perhaps guerrilla warfare has been regarded as being the last resource of desperate peoples with their backs to the wall, and therefore valid only in exceptional situations. History has undoubtedly confirmed the exception rather than the rule: guerrilla warfare, which had been the exception, has now become the rule, while the "conventional warfare" conducted by regular armies of constituted and recognized States has become the exception, especially because of its nuclear implications. One may therefore wonder whether the practices and the resulting laws established during a period roughly extending from 1800 to 1950 still have any meaning in the second

¹¹ Here we must pay tribute to the remarkable set of documents compiled by Madame P. Pierson-Mathy (from which these texts are quoted), in Cahier de Documentation No. III (L'application du droit de la guerre et des principes humanitaires dans les opérations de guérilla). This was supplied to the delegates attending the Conference on Humanitarian Law and Armed Conflicts, held in Brussels from 28 to 30 January 1970.

half of the twentieth century. The international laws established by Europeans in a European context hardly "budged" between 1874 (the Declaration of Brussels) and 1949 (the Geneva Conventions). Nor have the minor adjustments which have since been made altered the general approach to the problem.

Admittedly, "execution in accordance with the customs of war", i.e. the summary and immediate execution of captured guerrilla fighters, is a thing of the past 12, and Article 3 common to the four 1949 Geneva Conventions expressly prohibits:

"the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples".

Again, the second paragraph of Article 5 of the Third Geneva Convention of 1949 contains the following requirement:

"Should any doubt arise as to whether persons, having committed a belligerent act and having fallen into the hands of the enemy, belong to any of the categories enumerated in Article 4, such persons shall enjoy the protection of the present Convention until such time as their status has been determined by a competent tribunal."

These, like the more general guarantees contained in Article 3 ¹³, are necessary but insufficient: the execution of a prisoner following regular judgment often has the same consequences as summary execution besides involving publicity: it is an irresistible call for reprisals. ¹⁴

¹² Schmid, op. cit., p. 167.

¹³ It prohibits, besides summary sentences and executions:

[&]quot;(a) violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;

⁽b) taking of hostages;

⁽c) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular, humiliating and degrading treatment."

¹⁴ cf. Execution of eighty German prisoners by the FFI (Forces françaises de l'intérieur) in 1944 (Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its Activities during the Second World War, Vol. I, p. 523); execution of three French prisoners by the ALN (Armée de libération nationale) in Algeria in May 1958 (ICRC Annual Report for 1958, p. 10); and execution of two United States prisoners by the FNL (Front national de libération) in South Vietnam.

In the aforementioned examples taken from history, it is interesting to note that, whatever the legal definition of the conflict and of the opposing parties, once a certain balance is struck between the parties, the treatment of prisoners is laid down under arrangements, not to say agreements, far transcending the strict rules of positive law: prisoner-of-war status (cf. United States directives in Vietnam), the treatment of prisoners of war (cf. "PAM" = pris les armes à la main 15, in Algeria), the exchange of prisoners, and unilateral release, all of which are more liberal than the minimum conditions which the law has tried, in vain, to impose on guerrilla warfare.

As W. Meier wrote, following the conference held by the International Society of Penal Military Law and Law of War, in Dublin in May 1970:

"Die Macht des Faktischen zugunsten einer nicht privilegierten Personengruppe hat sich damit stärker erwiesen als eine alte Uebung des Kriegsrechts." ¹⁶

It remains to be seen whether the same tragic experience will have to be lived through in conflict after conflict and whether reprisals can alone put an end to the execution of prisoners or to torture. It would seem to be the purpose of humanitarian law to prevent useless and unnecessary suffering, to lay down the limits which practice has shown to be useful and necessary. There is, therefore, need for more realistic regulations concerning the treatment of prisoners in situations arising from guerrilla warfare. Where States do not as yet feel that they can engage in the international codification suggested by the International Committee of the Red Cross ¹⁷

¹⁵ Captured carrying arms.

¹⁶ Our translation: "A de facto situation favouring a group of non-privileged persons has thus proved more powerful than an ancient practice of the law of war". Walter Meier, Kriegsvölkerrecht und moderne Konfliktsformen. Ergebnisse einer Konferenz in Dublin, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 12.6.70, Mittagsausgabe, No. 267, p. 3.

 $^{^{17}}$ cf. Conference of Government Experts on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts (Geneva, 24 May-12 June 1971), Document VI, Rules Applicable in Guerrilla Warfare, documentation submitted by the ICRC, Geneva, January 1971, 55 + 17 pp.

or the United Nations Division of Human Rights ¹⁸, it would be advisable for them to convince themselves, by means of careful historical study, of the urgent need to reach a solution which may safeguard the essential rights of the human person—even if he is the worst criminal—and their overriding political needs. There can be no doubt that the humane treatment of prisoners entails considerable advantages, not only from the standpoint of reciprocity (and sometimes even without reciprocity), but also for a return to domestic and international peace.

Such a solution might, like nineteenth century codification, be based on the military instructions of States which have realized the need.

Michel VEUTHEY ICRC Legal Adviser

¹⁸ cf. Reports of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on "Respect for Human Rights in Armed Conflicts" submitted to the twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth sessions of the United Nations General Assembly (documents A/7720, A/8052 and A/8370).

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE INDO-PAKISTAN CONFLICT VICTIMS

Prisoners of war

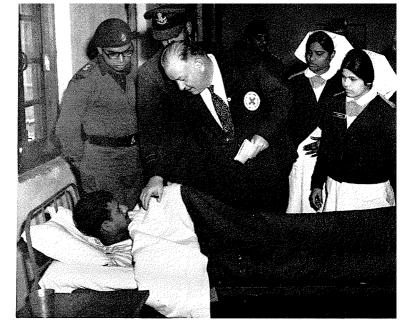
It will be recalled that the ICRC delegates in India—Mr. R. Du Pasquier, head of the delegation, and Dr. R. Marti, ICRC head physician—visited wounded Pakistani prisoners of war in December 1971, and that they subsequently visited other wounded prisoners. The ICRC delegates started visiting the prisoners of war held in Indian camps—and, as we mentioned in last month's issue, there are a great many of them—early in February. They are now carrying on the job by visiting other camps. More than 30,000 Pakistani prisoners were visited by the delegates while still in the Dacca area.

In Pakistan, the ICRC delegates are visiting Indians interned in four camps, as well as the wounded who are receiving treatment in seven hospitals.

Repatriation of seriously wounded prisoners of war

On 25 February, the first operation for the repatriation of seriously wounded prisoners of war taken during the December 1971 conflict took place between India and Pakistan. At Rawalpindi, 17 Indian prisoners of war embarked for India on an airplane of the International Committee of the Red Cross while, in New Delhi, 27 Pakistani prisoners of war were assembled before being taken

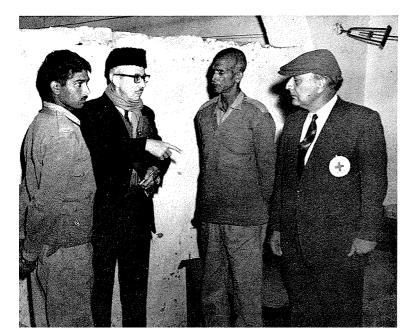
¹ Plate.



...in a hospital, by Dr. R. Marti, Chief Medical Officer of th ICRC.

Visits to Pakistani prisoners of war in India...

... in a camp, by Mr. R. Du Pasquier, head of the ICRC delegation, in February (**Right**, Col. Bhatia, Deputy Secretary-General of the Indian Red Cross).



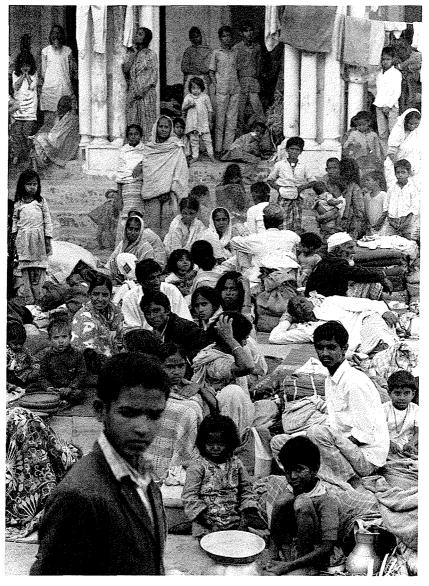


Photo J. J. Kurz/ICRC In Bangladesh, some of the people to whom the Red Cross...



Photo J. J. Kurz/ICRC ... provides assistance: distribution of milk in a camp near Dacca.



BEIRUT: Mr. F. Siordet, Member of the ICRC, presenting to Mrs. Issa-el-Khoury (centre) the school textbook "The Red Cross and My Country".

AMMAN: The ICRC delegate presenting to the Vice-Minister of Education in Jordan the school textbook "The Red Crescent and My Country". (from left to right, Mr. Schmidt, ICRC delegate, Dr. Abu-Goura, President of the Jordan Red Crescent, Mr. Hekmat El-Saket, Vice-Minister of Education, and Mr. Said-Eddine El-Khayat.)



back to Pakistan in another ICRC plane. The men were accompanied by ICRC doctor-delegates.

Similar operations have been planned for the coming weeks and the authorities of both countries have declared their willingness to repatriate all seriously wounded prisoners of war.

Messages sent by prisoners of war

The activities of the Tracing Agency also continue unabated. The beginning of direct family mail between Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, on 24 January 1972, was marked by the air-mail despatch of 50,000 family messages. Previously the ICRC Central Tracing Agency in Geneva relayed from its offices nearly 100,000 such messages.

This action, which provides a link between the prisoners and their relatives, is designed to ensure that war victims remain in touch with their families by correspondence. In India, too, the ICRC delegation has carried out its activities, as illustrated by the following example:

Letters written by Pakistani prisoners of war to their relatives are centralized in the Ministry of Defence in New Delhi, where the bags containing those letters are handed over to the ICRC delegation. They are placed in other bags which bear the abbreviation ICRC and a red cross, and each of which contains about 10,000 messages, after which the ICRC delegation has them forwarded to the addressees in Pakistan, via Calcutta. It is continuing to forward the correspondence by this route until such time as it is able to send it by a more direct route: from New Delhi to Pakistan by road. This method was used on 22 February, when an exchange of mail and despatch of parcels to prisoners of war took place at the Wagah frontier post. The operation was carried out by the Red Cross Societies of the two countries concerned, under the auspices of the ICRC.

Messages from Indian prisoners of war held in Pakistan are sent to the ICRC delegation in India, and the delegation sends them on to the Ministry of Defence in New Delhi, from where they are forwarded to the addressees.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

Repatriation of civilians

Between 5 and 7 February, the ICRC repatriated some 200 Afghan nationals who were in Bangladesh during the hostilities. These people were taken by the Indian Armed Forces to Calcutta, from where they flew to Kabul in one of the ICRC's two DC-6 aircraft. The plane made four such flights between Calcutta and Kabul.

Civilian relief

The surgical teams in Bangladesh have been concentrated in Dacca (Holy Family Hospital and Dacca Medical College), at Mirzapur and at Chuadanga, where their main concern is the treatment of war-wounded.

The needs among certain sections of the population, particularly among the minorities, have prompted the ICRC to institute a three-month medico-social programme in Bangladesh. The programme, which was approved by the authorities, began on 5 February and its aim is to satisfy the most urgent needs in medical and food relief for about 2 million people. Daily distributions of 500,000 rations of 1,700 calories provide food for a great number of people, thanks to the flexibility of the system. (A single ration, for example, is sufficient for two children or for a family which only requires an addition to its own supply.)

Concomitant with this food relief programme, six mobile medicosocial teams in various parts of the country provide out-patient treatment and food for the undernourished. They were made available by the Red Cross Societies of Denmark, Finland, France, Japan, Norway and Sweden.

The ICRC relief work for needy civilians has developed considerably over the past few weeks. At present, more than 5,000 tons of foodstuffs have been distributed to the Bengali population and some 300 tons to minority groups. Blankets, clothing and medicines have also been distributed where needed.

One of the major problems in this operation is the forwarding of goods. To deal with it the ICRC has a large fleet of vehicles which it uses as follows: the two DC-6 aircraft (made available by the Swiss Government deliver about 100 tons of relief goods daily to

various places to supply the relief teams. The teams themselves have about 30 lorries, a score of Land-Rovers and five motor-boats for deliveries to the villages. There are also three helicopters which are used mainly by the medical personnel.

*

With the approaching monsoon season and the accompanying risk of cyclones, the League of Red Cross Societies has resumed its cyclone warning system. Two delegates will be entrusted with the training of some 16,000 inhabitants of the coastal regions who will be responsible for warning and assisting the population.

Situation at the end of February

By the end of February, 160 persons were working on the Indian sub-continent under the Red Cross flag:

- ICRC personnel: 42 delegates and doctor-delegates: New Delhi (9), Calcutta (1), Islamabad (4), Dacca (24), Bogra (2) and Jessore (2).
- Technical Personnel (League and National Societies): Australia (2 persons), Austria (1), Canada (2), Denmark (1), Finland (2), Federal Republic of Germany (1), Great Britain (1), Japan (1), Malaysia (2), Philippines (1), Sweden (8) and Switzerland (4).
- Medical Teams (sent by National Societies): 92 persons divided into 17 teams: Belgium (1 team), Finland (2), Great Britain (1), Japan (1), Sweden (2), Canada (1), France (1), Spain (1), New Zealand (1), Denmark (2), Federal Republic of Germany (2) and Norway (2).

EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES

Near East

Visits to prisoners of war

In Israel, all the Arab prisoners of war in the Sarafand military camp prison were visited on 23 January and 11 February 1972. There were 62 Egyptians, 42 Syrians and one Jordanian.

In Jordan, the ICRC delegate went, on 10 January, to visit three Israelis held at the Zerka military prison. They had all been granted prisoner-of-war status by the Amman authorities.

In the Arab Republic of Egypt, the ICRC visited the 10 Israeli prisoners of war held at the Abassieh military prison on 25 January and 14 February.

In Syria, the ICRC delegate visited the three Israeli prisoners of war on 23 February.

Family reuniting operation in the Suez Canal area

An ICRC-sponsored family reuniting operation took place at El Qantara, on the Suez Canal, on 19 January 1972. Sixty-two persons left the territories occupied by Israel for the Arab Republic of Egypt, while fifteen persons crossed the Canal in the opposite direction.

Israel and the occupied territories

Release of Egyptian seamen.—Four Egyptian seamen whose vessel had been stopped and examined by the Israeli armed forces in

July 1971 were released and repatriated on 19 January 1972, under the auspices of the ICRC.

Distribution of parcels in prisons.—In January, the ICRC delegates distributed standard parcels containing fruit, biscuits, cigarettes and soap to 660 Arab civilian detainees, in eleven prisons in Israel and the occupied territories. It should be mentioned that such parcels are for detainees who have not been visited by their families for at least three months.

Jordan

On 11 and 19 January 1972, the ICRC delegate in Jordan visited Mahatta Prison, Amman, and saw fifteen persons who had been expelled from the territories occupied by Israel, and a Palestinian detainee from the Lebanon.

Syria

Distribution of relief supplies.—The ICRC delegation in Syria carried out several distributions of relief supplies during the second half of 1971.

A gift of 564 tons of wheat flour made by the Swiss Confederation to the Kuneitra prefecture enabled 54,600 displaced persons from the Golan Heights to receive 10 kg of rations.

The European Economic Community (EEC) provided 4,428 tons of grain which were distributed to about 10,000 refugees from the Golan Heights between 10 September and 30 November 1971. The EEC also provided 112 tons of powdered milk, distributed to 22,000 families.

A consignment of 750 kg of medicaments supplied by the ICRC was delivered to the Kuneitra prefecture for distribution. Twenty tons of cleaning products donated by the German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany were distributed to the Golan refugees at the same time as the flour rations.

Reuniting of families.—A family reuniting operation took place under ICRC auspices on 9 February. It enabled 10 persons to join their three families on the occupied Golan Heights.

Khmer Republic

The ICRC delegate in the Khmer Republic travelled to the provinces twice in January in order to visit camps and villages sheltering refugees.

Together with members of the Government and the Khmer Red Cross, the delegate went to the Province of Kompong-Speu on 11 January and to the Svay-Rieng region on 24 January. Relief supplies, consisting of cloth, blankets, clothing and foodstuff were distributed during the visit to Kompong-Speu.

In the same month, the ICRC doctor-delegate in the Khmer Republic continued his medical examinations programme in various refugee camps in the capital. As usual, he co-operated with the National Red Cross Society mobile medical teams.

During the month, nearly 6,000 persons in the 30 Phnom-Penh camps were examined. The teams treated some infectious and amoebic diseases, measles, chicken-pox and other cases. At the beginning of February, the doctor-delegate visited the Cao-Dai centre, where he examined more than 600 Vietnamese refugees.

Laos

On 12 January 1972, the ICRC delegate in Laos organized the distribution among 80 displaced families (about 450 people) of a Japanese donation of clothing. Mindful of the renewed fighting in the north of the country, he had stocked blankets, straw mats and mosquito nets for refugees. The first distribution in the northern provinces took place from 17 to 24 January.

During the week 18 to 25 February, the ICRC delegate in Laos was in the Luang-Prabang Province in the north of the country, where, in co-operation with the local Red Cross, he organized the distribution of relief supplies to refugees. In the town of Luang-Prabang, some 600 families, totalling more than 3,000 persons, received clothing: at Houei Sai, a distribution was made among 224 families totalling more than 1,000 persons. In both places, the Red Cross distributed relief supplies to patients in leper colonies, too.

Republic of Vietnam

On 5 January 1972, ICRC delegates and doctors in the Republic of Vietnam visited the Nguyen-Van-Nhut Vietnamese military hospital and the clinic for paraplegics at Vung-Tau, where they saw wounded soldiers being treated. On 14 January, they visited the Vietnamese military hospital at Qui-Nhan, on 17 and 18 January that of Cong-Hoa in Saigon and, on 20 and 21 January, the Pleiku correctional institution.

The ICRC delegates have visited several places of detention, namely the Qui-Nhon prisoner-of-war camp (11–13 January), the correctional institute in the same town (4 February) and the Nha-Trang correctional institute (8 February). During the latter two visits, the delegates issued medical supplies and distributed milk and parcels to the prisoners.

Bolivia

The ICRC mission in Bolivia, since the events there at the end of August 1971, was wound up in mid-January 1972, in agreement with the authorities in La Paz.

Before leaving the country, the ICRC delegate carried out a final visit to the prisons in and near the capital. Until the next prison visits by ICRC delegates, a medical assistance programme will be implemented by doctors who are themselves detainees. For that purpose, those doctors have been given full lists of medical supplies which the ICRC has made available to the National Red Cross Society, in whose headquarters the medicines are stored. Each week the doctor-detainees will draw up lists of the medicines required, and a member of the Bolivian Red Cross will collect the lists and supply the medicines. If necessary, the stock of medicines will be supplemented.

Further visits to places of detention in Bolivia in the months to come will be planned by the ICRC Regional Delegate for South America as part and parcel of the delegation's normal mission.

IN GENEVA

For the victims of pseudo-medical experiments

The Neutral Commission appointed by the ICRC to decide on claims made by Polish victims of pseudo-medical experiments carried out in concentration camps during the Second World War, met at ICRC Headquarters in Geneva from 6 to 8 January 1972. It comprised Mr. Lenoir, the Chairman, a Judge of the Geneva Law Courts, Dr. S. Mutrux, Assistant Administrator of the Bel-Air Psychiatric Clinic in Geneva, and Dr. P. Magnenat, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine and Assistant at the University Clinic of the Nestlé Hospital in Lausanne.

The Neutral Commission decided to allocate a total of DM. 1,455,000 in compensation to 50 victims whose claims were considered valid. This brings the aid paid by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany since 1961 to Polish victims of pseudo-medical experiments to DM. 36,285,000.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

Conference of Red Cross Experts

As announced in a previous issue ¹, the ICRC is organizing the second session of the Conference of Government Experts on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, to be held from 3 May to 3 June 1972.

Last year, the first session was preceded by a meeting of Red Cross experts at The Hague in March. A similar meeting will be held in 1972, to permit National Societies to keep abreast of developments in the work in hand.

This meeting will be held in Vienna from 20 to 24 March, at the invitation of the Austrian Red Cross. Its main purpose, after the National Societies have noted the results of the first session of the Conference of Government Experts, will be to permit a wide exchange of views on the drafts which the ICRC has drawn up for submission to the second session of Government Experts. In addition, it is planned to broach questions which are of interest more particularly to National Societies, such as the role they can undertake in the dissemination and development of humanitarian law, and the assistance they can give the ICRC in that task.

A plan of action has been prepared on just this subject and was sent, on 25 February 1972, to those National Societies which are to take part in the Conference. Here is what the plan of action contained:

¹ See International Review, April 1971.

PLAN OF ACTION TO BE APPLIED BY NATIONAL SOCIETIES IN SPREADING KNOWLEDGE OF AND IN DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW APPLICABLE IN ARMED CONFLICTS

This plan has been prepared for National Societies, in accordance with their wishes as expressed at the meeting in The Hague in February 1971 and with Resolution I of the Council of Delegates held in Mexico City in October 1971. This document lists the activities which could be undertaken by all National Societies and not just by the older and more developed of these Societies. Our plan, which is not all-encompassing, comprises two distinct parts, both of which supplement the activities of National Societies, viz.

- I. The role of National Societies in spreading knowledge of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949.
- II. The role of National Societies in developing international humanitarian law.

I. Dissemination of knowledge of the Geneva Conventions and of Red Cross Principles

Many resolutions adopted at international conferences lay stress on the responsibility of National Societies in this respect. The task of spreading knowledge of the Geneva Conventions is inextricably bound up with that of spreading knowledge of the general principles of the Red Cross on which they are based.

The Conventions themselves stipulate that the governments of the States parties thereto are bound to ensure that the content thereof is brought to the attention of the people but National Societies, too, have an important role to play in helping the public authorities in this task.

¹ See International Review, December 1971.

1. Direct action by National Societies

a) Appealing to public opinion

This is probably the most difficult task of all, the "popularizing" of the Conventions in as simple and accessible a way as possible. To do this, we suggest making use of current events by stressing, whenever the occasion arises, what the Conventions envisage or allow in any given situation of conflict that may occur. National Societies could also recall Red Cross principles and those of the Conventions at a more general level, quite apart from current affairs.

Methods to be used include:

- television (daily newscast)
- radio (daily newscast and debates)
- the press
- films
- lectures
- exhibitions
- literature

b) Appealing to youth

Here, as with the general public, National Societies are almost the only bodies able to take action. Naturally, each National Society will have to adapt its activities to its own country.

The ICRC has, for its part, produced the means, in the form of the school textbook "The Red Cross and my Country" and the "Teacher's Manual", whereby National Societies can reach all children attending school and not just those affiliated to the Junior Red Cross. Our school textbook is meant to be used by final-year primary school pupils, and its success depends largely on the interest and understanding of the teacher. We consequently recommend most heartily that all National Societies undertake a thoroughgoing and extended campaign, with the agreement of their Ministries of Education, in order to ensure that all primary school teachers are given some basic instruction on the Red Cross and guidance in how to use the textbook (in those countries in which it has been adopted).

This activity at primary level should be followed by further explanations of the Red Cross, its work and principles, given

¹ In Arab countries, "The Red Crescent and My Country".

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at secondary level when young minds start developing a sense of criticism.

Naturally, the role of members of those National Societies with Junior Red Cross sections will be capital in spreading knowledge of Red Cross principles and of the Conventions.

2. Indirect action by National Societies

National Societies, being auxiliaries of the public authorities, are further bound to ensure that those authorities take the measures necessary to ensure that the Conventions are properly brought to the notice of those specialized circles which are responsible for teaching or applying them (universities, army, medical circles).

a) Universities

The ICRC has just called on National Societies, encouraging them to find out from their universities how the Geneva Conventions are—or are not—taught in the faculties most directly concerned, i.e. Law, Political Science, Medicine. While on the subject of university education, we would recall Resolution 2 of the Mexico Council of Delegates (October 1971) ¹ which invited National Societies to intensify their activities in this specific sector. The ICRC responded to that resolution by sending all National Societies a plan for a model course on humanitarian law to help them in their efforts.² A detailed commentary on this plan is being prepared.

National Societies should concentrate on the following points:

- they must ensure that in ordinary courses on *public inter-*national law sufficient attention is paid to the teaching of
 the Conventions and that, during examinations, questions
 are systematically set on that subject (Law and Political
 Science);
- ensure that courses on medical ethics for future doctors include their rights and duties under the Conventions;
- they must, where the syllabus allows, arrange for a special course on international humanitarian law to be introduced;
- they must encourage students preparing their doctorate thesis to choose subjects from the sphere of international

¹ See International Review, December 1971.

² See International Review, February 1972.

- humanitarian law. (The Henry Dunant Institute and the ICRC can provide a list of subjects for theses);
- they must ensure that faculties of Law and Medicine have sufficient literature (bibliography) on the Conventions and humanitarian law.

b) Armed forces, security forces, civil defence, police

National Societies must ensure that:

- army officers have received sufficient systematic instruction on the Conventions that they may one day be called on to apply;
- the troops, too, are given some general guidance on the Conventions;
- the preceding recommendations are likewise applied to the police and the civil defence.

If National Societies are to be able to effectively help their authorities in this way, they must make available staff which is capable of teaching the basic principles of the Conventions. These Societies would therefore be well advised to train staff for that purpose, and the ICRC is prepared, if they so wish, to help in that task.

c) Medical and nursing circles

Until such time as doctors and nurses receive systematic and official instruction in the Conventions as part of their studies, National Societies must ensure that:

- medical associations, and
- nursing schools

give all members of their staff clear instructions with regard to the Conventions so that, should armed conflict or other trouble arise, they, too, can be called on either to respect or claim the protection of the provisions of the Conventions. Particular attention must be paid to the problem of displaying the red cross emblem.

To assist National Societies in this task, the ICRC has issued various documents which we recommend. We know, of course, that some national authorities and Societies have produced their own informative material.

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The ICRC is also preparing some audio-visual aids (slides and films) which it will offer to National Societies some time this year. It hopes that these aids will be widely used.

The ICRC would like to hear from those National Societies which have already launched, or which intend to launch, intensified campaigns to spread knowledge of the Conventions, how they have approached the different sectors that we have listed above and what means they have used.

II. The role of National Societies in Developing International Humanitarian Law

Many National Societies wish to support the efforts being made by the ICRC to develop humanitarian law, as their presence in The Hague bore witness.

We should consider the two very distinct phases of National Society action in this respect.

1. Phase 1: Until the current experts' consultations draw to a close

Until such time as the work of the Government Experts draws to a close and the ICRC has prepared the final draft, it would be premature to widely advertise the work being done or the proposals being examined. In the present state of affairs we see the role of National Societies as follows.

They should:

- keep fully informed of ICRC proposals;
- appoint one or more legal experts from each National Society able to completely assimilate the legal subject currently under examination. With this in mind, the ICRC is prepared to help National Societies to train their experts by accepting trainees in Geneva, by sending—in so far as its resources permit—a legal expert to any country so requesting, or else by covering these problems in regional seminars for the training of National Society officials;
- give their members limited information on the legal work currently in hand;
- support ICRC efforts by:
 - a) inducing their Governments to participate in the second session of the Conference to be held in Geneva in May 1972;

b) convincing their Governments to support ICRC projects as broadly as possible.

With this in mind, it would be desirable if each National Society could have an *Inter-Ministerial Committee* convened, in which it would be represented by its legal experts whose job would be to

- a) study the proposals to be discussed in Geneva,
- b) deal permanently with all matters relating to the application and dissemination of humanitarian law.

Such committees already exist in some countries and they make for harmonious integration of Red Cross and Government activities. These Committees should involve, in particular, the participation of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Justice and Domestic Affairs.

2. Phase 2: After the work of the government experts has drawn to a close

As soon as it is published, the ICRC's report on the second session of the Conference of Government Experts will be sent to National Societies.

Then once the ICRC has prepared its final drafts for submission to the next International Conference of the Red Cross, and then to a diplomatic conference, National Societies will have to do all they can to inform the general public because governments will have to be made to feel that public opinion sets great store by the adoption of the new protocols and is solidly behind the efforts being made by the Red Cross.

This must, however, be accompanied by the above-mentioned contacts with the government departments directly concerned.

When the time is ripe, the ICRC will make further suggestions as to how National Societies can spread knowledge of the Draft Additional Protocols to the Conventions.

Radio Broadcasting in the Service of the Red Cross

Last autumn, we described the Red Cross Broadcasting Service, mentioning the inauguration of programmes by directed beam. We remind our readers that every two months the International Committee of the Red Cross broadcasts a series of 30-minute programmes in English, French and Arabic to eight areas on the earth's surface, in Africa, Asia, Australia and the Middle East.

The first broadcasts took place in November 1971; the second in January 1972. This year three further programmes will convey the voice of the Red Cross throughout the world.

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The November 1971 programme included news items on ICRC activities in various places, whereas in January it concerned particularly the work of the Red Cross in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.

Generally speaking, the reception reports sent to Geneva display keen interest in the Red Cross, whose activities are still too little known. Several hundred reception reports reached the ICRC after the first two series of broadcasts. Most of them came from Asia, Australia and New Zealand, and the ICRC is grateful to the Asian Broadcasting Union for having previously notified its listeners of the Red Cross broadcasts. Of the reports received, more than a third was sent by amateur radio enthusiasts. National radio networks in Europe and overseas sent reports on the quality of reception. These reports came from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Algeria, Morocco, the Lebanon, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Ceylon, India, Hong Kong,

¹ See International Review. November 1971.

Japan, Singapore, New Zealand and Australia. All these reports were sent, after having been examined, to the Swiss Radio Technical Service.

Unfortunately, there were few reports from African listeners, although the ICRC does broadcast in West, Central and East Africa. It is to be hoped that after the next programme, reports will reach the ICRC from Red Cross and Crescent Societies, national radio networks, and amateur radio enthusiasts in Africa, where radio is a medium with a large audience.

The dates and frequencies of ICRC broadcasts between March and September 1972 are as follows:

1. Broadcasts in English to Australia, New Zealand, Japan and South East Asia

Tuesday, 21 March 1972 Tuesday, 16 May 1972 Tuesday, 25 July 1972

from 9.30 to 10 a.m. GMT

on	21,520 K	hz	13.94	m	Pakistan, India
	15,305 K	hz	19.60	m	China, Japan
	11,775 K				New Zealand
	9,590 K	hz	31.28	m	Australia

2. Broadcasts in English, French and Arabic to the Middle East and Africa

Thursday, 23 March 1972 Thursday, 18 May 1972 Thursday, 27 July 1972

trom 9.30 to 10 a.m. GMT

on	21,585	\mathbf{Khz}	13.90 m	West Africa
				(English + French)
	21,520	\mathbf{Khz}	13.94 m	Middle East
				(Arabic)
	17,795	\mathbf{Khz}	16.86 m	East Africa
				(English + French)
	15,430	\mathbf{Khz}	19.44 m	Central Africa
				(English + French)

"The Red Crescent and My Country" in the Arab Countries

On several occasions, the *International Review* has mentioned the efforts of the ICRC to make known the principles of the Geneva Conventions in schools through the medium of the school textbook "The Red Cross and My Country", of which over one million copies have been distributed, in 16 languages, in 45 countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia. Its purpose is to instil the basic Red Cross principles into primary school pupils, and an explanatory "Teacher's Manual" accompanies the textbook.

Lately, efforts to disseminate the textbook have been concentrated in the Arab countries, the text and illustrations having been adapted in co-operation with the Lebanese Red Cross and the Jordan Red Crescent. The first edition of 100,000 copies (and 10,000 copies of the "Teacher's Manual") was printed in Beirut, under the title "The Red Crescent and My Country".

As Jordan wished to receive 50,000 copies for immediate distribution in schools, that quantity has been despatched to Amman.¹ In addition, the ICRC has contacted the other Middle East and Maghreb States. A special edition, printed in 5,000 copies and entitled *The Red Cross and My Country*, has been produced for the Lebanese Red Cross.¹

So far, nine of those States have responded favourably, eight of them agreeing to take several thousand copies in order to launch it, while Kuwait has decided to print its own supply. In the Arab Republic of Egypt, the textbook will be put to the test by an initial distribution of 30,000 copies in several Cairo schools.

The ICRC hopes that the Ministries of Education in the various countries will subsequently include the textbook in their school syllabi and will have further copies printed for distribution in all schools.

¹ Plate.

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In this event, the National Societies will have an important job to do, not only in supervising the publication of the textbook, but also in launching a campaign to show teachers how to make the most of it in teaching their young pupils.

By the end of February, the school textbook had been adopted by the following Arab countries: Algeria, Bahrain, Arab Republic of Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mauritania, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia.

As can be seen, all the Red Crescent Societies of the Maghreb States have requested the school textbook. The ICRC has therefore arranged for the printing of a further 150,000 copies.

WORLD RED CROSS DAY 1972

As is known, last year World Red Cross Day was a great success in which many National Red Cross Societies shared, and many radio and television stations transmitted special programmes prepared for the occasion. This year, the League of Red Cross Societies has once again prepared some very eye-catching literature to illustrate the theme chosen for the 1972 World Day which is:

The Red Cross - Humanity's Bridge

This literature consists of 12 well illustrated posters, each of which refers to one of the many activities of the Red Cross in a world where suffering constantly reappears despite the efforts of men and women of good will united under the flag of the Red Cross, the Red Crescent and the Red Lion and Sun. The informative material, preceded by a three-page text, includes also reproductions, badges and photos. We give below some extracts from the text for they show the deep meaning of this, the 25th, World Red Cross Day which we hope will be a resounding success.

... Wherever it exists, the Red Cross seeks to break down isolation, whether it be due to poverty, illness, physical or mental infirmities or any other factor. Its volunteers concern themselves with the welfare of the needy, the elderly, the hospitalized. They offer the possibility of a normal life to the handicapped, by organizing for them vocational training courses, sports or recreational activities. By the same token, pri-

soners can find through the Red Cross the possibility to learn a trade during their detention; it also provides them with medical care and legal advice, and in these and other ways helps to facilitate and prepare their reintegration into society. At the same time, by the interest expressed in their problems, the Red Cross helps detainees to feel less cut off from, and rejected by, the outside world. Immigrants, too, are helped to communicate with members of the community and assimilate more rapidly in their adopted countries thanks to the language courses organized by certain National Societies.

There are many varied ways in which the Red Cross|Red Crescent| Red Lion and Sun serves as "Humanity's Bridge". To those already mentioned should be added such activities as first aid, accident prevention, health education, mother and child care, blood transfusion and nursing. In every case, the basic motivation is the safeguard of human lives and the health and welfare of one's fellow man. In the accomplishment of these tasks, close links are created between those who join their forces in the work of the Red Cross. In a broader context, bridges are built between all concerned, whether it be those who benefit or may one day benefit from one service or another, and those who serve or may be called upon to do so.

Young people are also a closely integrated part of this vast movement of solidarity. More and more the Red Cross associates them with its projects and programmes, gives them responsibilities on the same basis as those of the adults, and gives them an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process at all levels. In this way the Red Cross is helped to bridge the generation gap. It is seeking with young people solutions to such urgent problems as criminality, juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, and the pollution of the environment.

By considering that each individual has his place and function in the community, and by helping him find that place and fulfil that function, the Red Cross/Red Crescent/Red Lion and Sun is working towards the construction of a more harmonious society, in which its essential role is to serve as a link between men.

France

The French Red Cross has published the summary record of the statutory General Assembly which it held in Paris in November 1971, at which a number of important matters were discussed. We would draw the attention of our readers to some of these matters by reproducing excerpts from the President's address which shows the extent to which this National Society has been active and continued to develop. As Mr. Marcellin Carraud pointed out, membership increased again in 1970 to reach 1,184,000 by the beginning of 1971.

The first thing we see from our records of the past twelve months is that it has, in general, been a good year. Our Red Cross has developed its activities satisfactorily and has continued to prove itself sound in life and limb.

This it has done in an atmosphere of national understanding resulting, on the one hand, from a true awareness of the usefulness of what we are doing for our fellow countrymen and most certainly, on the other hand, from the growing appreciation of the important role which our movement is having to assume at international level. The Red Cross is, in fact, establishing itself, the world around, as an organization the vocation of which no longer calls for discussion, unless to comment on the efficiency which it so frequently exhibits. No doubt there are many who do not know exactly what it does represent or how it goes about its business. Nevertheless, its name remains a symbol and is voiced whenever the need for relief is felt. This is a most comforting trend.

However, the multiplicity of tasks with which so many would like to burden it has led some people to wonder whether we have reached the eve of a turning-point in the history of the Institution founded by Henry Dunant. This preoccupation is voiced from time to time. Last year, our General Assembly itself took up the cry and asked that a study be undertaken to define what changes

might usefully be made in the mission and structure of our Society in order to adapt them to modern conditions.

It has been decided that a similar study should be made at international level for the Red Cross as a whole, which goes to show that it is a topical problem.

We cannot, however, be too careful in carrying out such a task as the future of our movement is at stake. There is always the temptation to add new sectors to our range of activities. But it is rarely wise to disperse one's forces. The main point would seem to be to start by setting an order of priorities.

We must, at all times, be able to meet current needs. It is by doing so that our movement has retained its vigour and displayed its continuity. And when I look back on the work accomplished over the past year, it is that continuity which is, to my mind, its main characteristic.

I shall now present you with my report on the activities of our Society over the past year, and sum up the current situation.

...Our achievements in the medico-social sphere during the year bear witness to our readiness to adapt to the needs of the moment.

The French Red Cross, through its collaboration with the public authorities, the number of its establishments and the variety of its achievements, forms a natural part of the medical facilities of our country . . .

... Ambassador François-Poncet used to say that relief work was the mainspring of the Red Cross. It is, at any rate, an essential element and we must accord it all our attention. I cannot too strongly recommend to our Presidents that they should do all they can to ensure that they have available keen, well trained and well led teams.

Relief work offers us the means of catering to the aspirations of young men and women anxious to take up some selfless activity. They can join the teams from the age of 16 and they derive satisfaction from doing a real job of work, identical with that of the adults . . .

THE PROBLEM OF PEACE

Under the title "Peace Research, the Science of Survival", the Unesco Courier (November 1970) includes an article written for another Unesco periodical, Impact — Science and Society, by Mr. Bert V. A. Röling, Secretary General of the International Peace Research Association and the author of various publications on international law and peace. Red Cross interest in the problem of peace is well known and the XXIst International Conference at Istanbul in 1969 again recommended the International Red Cross and the National Societies to seek practical means of participating to a greater extent in the safeguard of peace and the prevention of war. We think it useful therefore to bring to the notice of our readers some passages of the article in which Mr. Röling defines the study of peace and war as a branch of objective knowledge.

... The study of peace.—This area of peace research examines the various forms of peace and the problems in a state of peace which tend to destroy it.

When talking about peace, certain basics must be realized. It can be asserted that peace is not a natural state. It is in the nature of man and beast to be primarily concerned with self, to identify self with things dear to it, and to be stout in their defence.

This should not be misinterpreted. I do not mean to say that war has its roots in that which is animal in man, because, among animals, a life-and-death struggle between members of the same species is a rarity. They fight for a female, or for living space, or in order to determine which is the stronger. Moreover, the large-scale group fight between bodies of congeners occurs, with the exception of some species of rats, only among men.

So it is hardly scientific to call war a manifestation of animalistic behaviour, and to speak of "beastly" wars, because animals just do not behave that way.

That brings us to the second basic point: that war is inextricably linked to what in man is peculiarly and uniquely human. As Raymond Aron has written, in *Guerre et Paix entre les Nations*, "The difficulties of peace relate more to the humanity than the animality of man... Man is the creature who is capable of preferring revolt over humiliation and his truth over life."

Starting from such foundations, peace must necessarily be a far from simple matter. There are a number of different concepts of peace which must be taken into account.

There are, for example, the paired concepts of negative peace, which is simply a state of non-war, and of positive peace, which implies the making of accommodations between groups so they can live together within a mutually accepted system of values. Our immediate concern is necessarily this negative peace, the mere avoidance of war, and this is indeed, what largely occupies the statesmen of the world at this time.

Static and dynamic peace.—If we try to confine ourselves simply to banning war as by a prohibition such as that in the United Nations Charter, what we are really doing is excluding war as a way of resolving conflict situations, yet without removing the conflict situations and without providing any alternatives to war.

This is an impossible situation, because the conflict situations must become so tense that they necessarily erupt into violence. But as soon as we attempt to make some arrangement for the prevention of open conflict, or arrangements for the peaceable solution of conflict situations, we are already within the realm of positive peace.

Another distinction that may be made is that between static and dynamic peace: between peace attained by the maintenance of a status quo (the kind of peace envisaged in the Covenant of the League of Nations) and peace attained by the adoption of ways and means to ensure peaceable change and re-adjustment of local, national and international social structures.

In a dynamic era, it is much more evident than in a period of stability that peace is only possible if changes can be adjusted to

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without violence. We are living in an exceptionally dynamic era, owing to the release of atomic energy and the emancipation of former colonies.

Among the peace research studies dealing with the various factors of peace in its several concepts are those analysing the balance of power, cases of prolonged peaceful relations between nations, United Nations peace-keeping operations, mediation and arbitration, and non-violence as a method of defence.

Another large group of studies deals with the problems which have a strong tendency to rend the fragile fabric of peace. Two conspicuous examples are world armament and world poverty, but there are certainly others which are closely related, such as population pressures, intra-national tribal and ethnic group antagonisms, the shortage of arable land, the inadequate world food supply and the economic and political underdevelopment of new nations.

The urgency of the arms problem can be seen by making a comparison with the animal world. In the animal world there exists a kind of equilibrium between the degree of aggressiveness peculiar to a given species and the weapons which that species has at its disposal. Aggressive species have only weak weapons at their disposal. Non-aggressive species may be heavily armed. There probably have been species which combined great aggressiveness and a great potential for the infliction of injury but, if so, these species have died out.

The trouble in the case of man is that science and technology have multiplied the effectiveness of his weapons millions of times, but this process has not been counterpoised by an adequate reduction of his aggressiveness. This is the peace problem relating to weapons, of which there are too many at the disposal of the wealthy countries.

The other major peace problem follows out of the unequal distribution of material benefits, with too few being at the disposal of the poor nations which represent two-thirds of the world's population. The distance between the rich and the poor is widening every year. The widening of the gap is bound to lead in the long run to revolutions and wars.

Peace research projects which relate to the major problems of peace and to the formulation of the conditions for peace include those on arms control, the influence of industrial-military complexes, the economic and social consequences of disarmament, the social aspects of technical assistance, in fact, all aspects of economic development.

About one-third of peace research institutes are working on mathematical models of arms races. Such models, like all mathematical models of complex dynamic structures, are necessarily somewhat simplified but can sometimes provide useful insight.

Man, society and the international system.—This area of peace research examines the world as it is, not as it should be, if we want to prevent war. It investigates the world as we find it, with the people in it as they truly are—people with their rational and irrational elements, with their loves and hatreds, their suspicions and enmities and in particular with their tendency to distort the image of their environment until it fits the picture of the world they have made for themselves.

While man as he really is must be the point of departure in our understanding of this combative world, peace research must also deal with the groups in which man lives, the states, collective bodies with their own sociological laws, in which the past plays a dominant part, where tradition often carries the day and emotionality plays a predominant role, within which thought and action are based not on humanity, but on nationality, in which conformity is the rule and independent thought is looked on with suspicion, in which collective distortions of reality, especially at critical junctures, have a fatal effect.

Bearing on these matters are peace research investigations into ethnocentrism—acceptance of the standards of one's ethnic group as absolutely right and appraisal of all other groups by these standards—into race relations, into the sources and components of nationalism and into political ideologies and war propaganda.

Finally this area of peace research deals with the relationships and behaviour of the world of sovereign states, that underdeveloped community of independent units organized into what is called the international system, in which right and justice receive hardly any consideration when it comes to vital issues, in which military power is so frequently the clinching argument.

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Experimental studies on small groups, put into test situations where we see aggression, threat and conflict developing out of group behaviour, particularly out of intergroup rivalries, are providing insight not only into similar behaviour between far larger social groups which are segments of national populations, but into similar behaviour on the international scale.

Peace research projects are probing into all the many factors involved in international behaviour and international relations. They examine, for example, the workings of international diplomacy, the decision-making process in foreign relations, the role of élites in foreign policy decisions, the legal aspects of peaceful coexistence, World Court practices, the significance of geographic factors in international relations, the effects of modern warfare on popular ethical standards, and the reasons for the successful federation of peoples of different cultures—one example of this being Switzerland.

Other studies are devoted to making a semantic analysis of international disagreements, appraising not only how the opposing parties' different ideas of the meanings of the same words complicate conflict situations, but also how the intensification of conflict situations is manifested in a changing terminology in interchanges, particularly by an escalation in the use of violent and threatening language.

The relations between states in the international system are today, as virtually always throughout history, totally "realistic", marked by a total absence of considerations of morality.

As Machiavelli put in his handbook for rulers, *The Prince*, "A ruler cannot be good in a bad world". A modern political scientist drew the same conclusion: "The international environment makes it difficult almost to the point of impossibility for states to behave in ways that are progressively more moral".

It is this pessimistic attitude which lies at the root of naked power politics. Optimists, however, think that the behaviour of an adversary in a controversy may indeed be favourably affected by a gradual *rapprochement* in matters of disarmament by taking graduated unilateral steps. The policy of the good example, in which the risk of a small concession is taken.

In any case, the antagonisms between states arise out of conflicts of interests. In some cases, the conflict of interests is such

that a gain for one party must mean a loss for the other, as, for instance, in territorial disputes. Yet in the majority of cases the situation is different and an agreement between the two or joint action would produce results advantageous to both. Proportionate mutual disarmament between two states is an example of this, since both states would maintain the same relative strength, but at far less cost.

Yet it has always been the case that the uncertainty which either party feels as to the possible conduct of the other, instead forces both of them to arm all-out, to engage in an unlimited arms race. The fact is that the conduct of one state is more or less determined by the conduct of the other, or by its anticipations as regards the other's conduct. States are accustomed to act upon the premise that other states, striving to promote their interests, will behave badly—which causes them to behave badly themselves.

The same state of mind applies in many other aspects of the conflicts between nations. States blindly pursue their own individual paths as they react to each other, including the path to war, in the belief that they are acting realistically.

I feel that what is basically necessary is a different system of international relations, incorporating new rules of conduct based on rationality. That is the task of international law combined with a world-wide organization which can keep a proper check on the observance of the rules for international behaviour it has laid down, and which has the power to enforce their observance.

The means of bringing about change.—The fourth area of peace research includes a consideration of those forces in society which might help the world to realize the basic conditions for peace. One might think here of the churches, the arts and sciences, education, and mass communication, including the press, radio and television. These studies deal particularly with such questions as: "How can a large body of people be reached?"; "What is the role and significance of protest?"; and "What may be the influence of the idea of militant non-violence?"

To find the answers to such questions, peace research studies are being conducted on such general topics as the effects and effective-

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ness of non-violent protests, the effect of public opinion on foreign affairs, the role of mass media in relation to biases affecting international relations, the influence of communication channels and mass media on foreign policy issues, the methods of communicating the findings of social science to decision-makers and to the general public, and how the general public perceives the intentions of other nations.

Still other studies evaluate the educational programmes of international organizations, the effects of student interchanges on national attitudes and the role of religious movements on international relations.

Change in the present attitudes of the world towards war will come slowly. The degree of potential change in public opinion has been investigated. It appears that a considerable percentage (40 per cent) of those interrogated in one survey had not altered their views over a period of twenty years, even in circumstances most favourable to changes of opinion.

In other cases, the changes of opinion were very slight. Each generation has a relatively small radius of attitudes. Major changes usually only follow out of bitter experience, and tend to coincide more or less with the advent of a new generation.

In view of the components of the vast problem facing peace research, which are respectively man, the group (state) and the world of states, it is obvious that the science of peace must necessarily be a broadly multi-disciplinary one.

Since most of the topics of peace research fall clearly into the domain of the social sciences, the scientific staffs of peace research institutions are heavily weighted with specialists in various social science fields. Among them are those trained in history, economics, international law, international relations, political science, and social psychology.

However, specialists in other disciplines at the margin of the social sciences or in some of the physical and biological sciences are increasingly finding a place on peace research staffs. Many staffs now include specialists in mathematics and statistics, military science, geography, physics, anthropology and psychology. Almost one-third of all peace research institutions employ philosophers.

Controversy between two schools.—It is regrettable that the number of biologists on peace research staffs is still relatively low, for these are the scientists who must appraise man, to determine how his innate biological characteristics affect his behaviour. Many peace researchers are not sure that the study of man as an aggressive animal falls within the scope of this field.

Co-operation between the disciplines is by no means an easy matter, since the various branches of learning have gradually isolated themselves, developing their own apparatus of research, and wish to keep their respective spheres free from the taint of outside influence. The process of integration has been set in motion, but it is still far from being completed.

While it is fundamental that the science of peace must aim to become more and more an exact science approaching the natural sciences, it is evident that, as a social science, it can only make limited utilization of the methodologies of the natural sciences.

Peace research methodologies may be classified, generally speaking, as being of two types, and there is a controversy currently going on about their respective merits. The first approach is what we may call the "traditional" or "historical-analytical" approach. The second is the "modern" or "mathematical" approach, which turns to statistical methods, mathematical analysis and mathematical model-making in the treatment of the subject matter. The controversy between adherents of the two schools is an extension of the same controversy as is found in the fields of sociology and international relations.

My conclusion tends to be that both methods are indispensable, because they are complementary. The exact method will often succeed in proving beyond refutation what the traditional method has suggested. Moreover, figures form an international language which can be understood across the frontiers of states and ideologies.

Usually peace research starts within a national context. In each country, it bears a national stamp and employs a national rhetoric. Each investigator's outlook cannot fail to be conditioned by the system of values prevalent in his own country, by what Julius Stone (in "Aggression and World Order") called "the national versions of truth and justice".

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... In our divided world, we shall be very long in achieving the common starting-points, the Greek "topoi", which according to Plato's ideal might convince even the gods. But in a situation where, I believe, peace can only be finally realized as a universal peace achieved by a universal culture, it is imperative that this common basis be established as soon as possible.

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

THE PROBLEM OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE 1

Under this general title, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) is publishing a series of six volumes, Nos. I, IV and V of which are now available. As is well known, the SIPRI is an institution which was established in 1966 for research into problems of peace and conflict, with particular attention to disarmament and arms regulation.

The first volume, The Rise of CB Weapons, describes in 400 pages the growth of CBW technology over the past sixty years and recalls the allegations of use of chemical and biological weapons. It describes the military rationale underlying the use of chemical warfare during the First World War and in three subsequent conflicts. In addition, the volume provides historical insight into the factors that may inhibit wider use or acceptance of CB weapons, and thus contribute to their more effective outlawing.

Volume IV, CB Disarmament Negotiations, 1920-1970, also of 400 pages, gives an account of the international attempts to outlaw and abolish CB warfare through the League of Nations and the United Nations. It describes the negotiations leading to the adoption, in 1925, of the Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of bacteriological methods of warfare. It also recounts the efforts prior to and during the International Disarmament Conference in 1932-1933 to outlaw the production of CB weapons.

This volume analyses in depth the most recent discussions on CB disarmament and reviews efforts to ensure universal adherence to the Geneva Protocol. It considers the positions adopted by various States on the problems of prohibiting production and possession of CB weapons and on the draft CB disarmament conventions. The examples quoted are extremely topical, as the authors do not omit even the consultations which took place in 1971.

¹ Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, and Humanities Press, New York, 1971.

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

Volume V, The Prevention of CBW, discusses possible measures to prevent chemical and biological warfare. It begins by describing the political, military, psychological and legal inhibitions to the initiation of CBW, and it analyses the factors that may weaken those constraints. The implications of the use of irritant agents and antiplant agents and of unverified allegations of chemical and bacteriological warfare are an important part of this discussion. The national interests of different countries are shown to be not necessarily coincidental with the positions assumed by governments on issues of CB disarmament.

Considerable attention is given to the technical and political aspects of supervision, and certain case studies of allegations of CB warfare are presented. The volume also describes the Western European Union system of CB weapons control and verification.

These three volumes give a particularly interesting insight into the history and evolution of chemical and bacteriological weapons since the First World War, instances of actual use in conflicts, and international efforts to restrict the use of such weapons. The other three volumes announced by the SIPRI are entitled: II CB Weapons Today; III CBW and International Law; VI Technical Aspects of Early Warning and Verification. These volumes constitute a useful comprehensive study which already appears to be a valuable contribution to knowledge of one of the greatest problems facing mankind today. This study gives expression to the profound concern of scientists throughout the world faced with the risks arising from preparations for chemical and biological warfare and the possible use eventually of weapons which could well cause extensive and lasting damage. The Red Cross shares these fears and it is for that reason that the ICRC, with the backing of resolutions adopted by several International Conferences of the Red Cross, has continued its efforts with a view to the ratification of, or accession to, the Geneva Protocol by all States which are not yet parties thereto.1 $I.\ M.-C.$

¹ See ICRC Annual Report for 1970, pp. 101-102, and International Review, June 1970.

EXTRACT FROM THE STATUTES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

(AGREED AND AMENDED ON 25 SEPTEMBER 1952)

ART. 1. — The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), founded in Geneva in 1863 and formally recognized in the Geneva Conventions and by International Conferences of the Red Cross, shall be an independent organization having its own Statutes.

It shall be a constituent part of the International Red Cross.¹

- ART. 2. As an association governed by Articles 60 and following of the Swiss Civil Code, the ICRC shall have legal personality.
- ART. 3. The headquarters of the ICRC shall be in Geneva. Its emblem shall be a red cross on a white ground. Its motto shall be "Inter arma caritas".
 - ART. 4. The special role of the ICRC shall be:
- (a) to maintain the fundamental and permanent principles of the Red Cross, namely: impartiality, action independent of any racial, political, religious or economic considerations, the universality of the Red Cross and the equality of the National Red Cross Societies;
- (b) to recognize any newly established or reconstituted National Red Cross Society which fulfils the conditions for recognition in force, and to notify other National Societies of such recognition;

¹ The International Red Cross comprises the National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies. The term "National Red Cross Societies" includes the Red Crescent Societies and the Red Lion and Sun Society.

- (c) to undertake the tasks incumbent on it under the Geneva Conventions, to work for the faithful application of these Conventions and to take cognizance of any complaints regarding alleged breaches of the humanitarian Conventions;
- (d) to take action in its capacity as a neutral institution, especially in case of war, civil war or internal strife; to endeavour to ensure at all times that the military and civilian victims of such conflicts and of their direct results receive protection and assistance, and to serve, in humanitarian matters, as an intermediary between the parties;
- (e) to contribute, in view of such conflicts, to the preparation and development of medical personnel and medical equipment, in cooperation with the Red Cross organizations, the medical services of the armed forces, and other competent authorities;
- (f) to work for the continual improvement of humanitarian international law and for the better understanding and diffusion of the Geneva Conventions and to prepare for their possible extension;
- (g) to accept the mandates entrusted to it by the International Conferences of the Red Cross.

The ICRC may also take any humanitarian initiative which comes within its role as a specifically neutral and independent institution and consider any questions requiring examination by such an institution.

ART. 6 (first paragraph). — The ICRC shall co-opt its members from among Swiss citizens. The number of members may not exceed twenty-five.



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- TURKEY Turkish Red Crescent, Yenisehir, Ankara.
- UGANDA Uganda Red Cross, Nabunya Road, P.O. Box 494, Kampala.
- UPPER VOLTA Upper Volta Red Cross, P.O.B. 340, Ouagadougou.
- URUGUAY Uruguayan Red Cross, Avenida 8 de Octubre 2990, Montevideo.
- U.S.A. American National Red Cross, 17th and D Streets, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
- U.S.S.R. Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Tcheremushki, J. Tcheremushkinskii proezd 5, Moscow W-36.
- VENEZUELA Venezuelan Red Cross, Avenida Andrés Bello No. 4, Apart. 3185, Caracas.
- VIET NAM (Democratic Republic) Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, 68 rue Bà-Trièu, Hanoi.
- VIET NAM (Republic) Red Cross of the Republic of Viet Nam, 201 duong Hông-Thâp-Tu, No. 201, Saigon.
- YUGOSLAVIA Yugoslav Red Cross, Simina ulica broj 19, Belgrade.
- ZAIRE (Republic of) Red Cross of the Republic of Zaire, 41 av. Valcke, P.O. Box 1712, Kinshasa.
- ZAMBIA Zambia Red Cross, P.O. Box R.W.1., Ridgeway, Lusaka.